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National Museum
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Publications
In Folk Culture, No. 3

Roles of Magic and Healing

The *Tietäjä* in the Memorates and Legends of Canadian Finns

Matt T. Salo

Publications
de Culture traditionnelle, n° 3

Musées nationaux
du Canada

Musée national
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105-02521/

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Available by mail from the
National Museums of Canada
Marketing Services
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0M8

Catalogue No. NM95 – 15/3

National Museum of Man
National Museums of Canada
Ottawa, Canada
1973

P0987654321
Y79876543

Printed in Canada

Roles of Magic and Healing

National Museum of Man
Publications in Folk Culture. No. 3

Published by the
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Publications de Culture traditionnelle, nº 3

Publié par les
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Résumé

La présente étude est consacrée à la médecine traditionnelle à laquelle avaient recours, vers le début du siècle, les immigrés finnois et leurs descendants. À l'instar de tous les immigrés, les Finlandais se sont confrontés avec de nouvelles conditions de vie, parfois éprouvantes. L'enquête se limite au comportement lié à la maladie et tente d'expliquer comment ils combattaient l'anxiété qui en résulte.

L'auteur rappelle les anciens rites chamanistes et décrit les fonctions du chaman. Il étudie les pratiques des guérisseurs immigrants dans un contexte très général et fait des observations sur la tradition chamaniste et les adaptations qu'elle a subies.

La recherche s'est faite dans diverses localités de la région de Sudbury, dans le nord de l'Ontario. Tous les témoignages furent recueillis en langue finnoise et ont fait l'objet d'une traduction vers l'anglais.

Summary

The following study describes traditional Finnish healing practices as they were used by turn-of-the-century Finnish immigrants and their descendants. As immigrants in an unfamiliar country, Finns were exposed to a variety of stress-inducing situations. This investigation deals only with the area of ill health, and attempts to explain how the anxiety produced by illness was handled.

The ancient practice of shamanism is discussed and the various roles of the shaman are described. The practices of the immigrant healers are examined against this background, and observations are made about continuity and change in the shamanic tradition.

Field research was conducted in several locations in the Sudbury district of northern Ontario. All the information was collected from the informants in Finnish and is presented in translation.

Acknowledgements

The research and writing of this study was supported by a contract from the National Museums of Canada. I wish especially to express my thanks to Dr. Carmen Roy, Dr. Robert Klymasz and Mr. Magnus Einarsson-Mullarky of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies at the National Museum of Man for their friendly assistance and advice. I am indebted to the members of the Finnish immigrant communities of the Sudbury district for freely sharing their knowledge of tradition.

Biographical Note

Matt T. Salo received his education at Western Reserve University and at Indiana University, where he obtained advanced degrees in Finno-Ugric Studies and Folklore. His interests lie mainly in the study of folk religion and oral tradition. He has done fieldwork among the rural population in Finland, the Finnish immigrants in Canada and the United States, and the Gypsies in Finland. Currently he is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Northern Illinois University.

Preface

Finns have always had a reputation for wizardry. Early historical records noting their existence refer to the supernatural powers of the Finns, and even in the present-day folklore of neighbouring countries there are many allusions to their unique magic powers. This reputation is partly deserved, as the Finns preserved better than any other European people — with the exception of the Lapps — the ancient magico-religious heritage that has its roots in the hunting-fishing-gathering culture of the Stone Age.

Aspects of magico-religious beliefs still persist in rural parts of Finland, and to some extent practices based on the magic world view were also transported to the New World with the early immigrants. One such complex of beliefs here referred to as the *tietäjä*[1] tradition, is based on the ancient practice of shamanism and still finds expression in the roles of the folk healers recognized among the Finnish settlers of northern Ontario.

The following report describes the continuity and change of these traditional healing practices. The *tietäjä* tradition was investigated from the perspective of the various healer roles and the basic needs and social conditions that gave rise to them. The beliefs associated with these roles, their differentiation and clustering and, finally, their viability and dissolution under changing conditions were studied.

The word *memorate*, used in the title and in the text, can be loosely defined as a narrative told by a person about an experience purely his own. This may apply to either a natural or supernatural experience.[2]

The material presented here is the result of field research in several locations in the Sudbury district of northern Ontario. All the items were collected in Finnish, but the translation is as faithful as possible to the informants' own descriptions of their traditions. To spare them any possible embarrassment, informants are not identified by name, nor do the initials stand for actual names. Most are first-generation immigrants, some of whom have lived in the area since their arrival in Canada. Others have travelled widely and have resided in several other Finnish communities in both the United States and Canada.

Finns, like many other ethnic groups, have tended to cluster together in immigrant communities in order to provide some degree of group cohesion as a countermeasure against the insecurites posed by the strange environment. This clustering has helped to preserve traditional Finnish ways of life, especially in the rural areas less affected by other influences, and has maintained them at the level of turn-of-the-century rural Finland. The second and third generations are gradually becoming Canadian, but the first retains its customs. Because most essential business can be conducted with fellow countrymen, very few Finns have learned to speak English well. It is under these conditions that the traditions of magic and folk healing have managed to stay alive and, in some cases, even develop further in the new surroundings.

1 Pronounced ti.é.ta.ya.

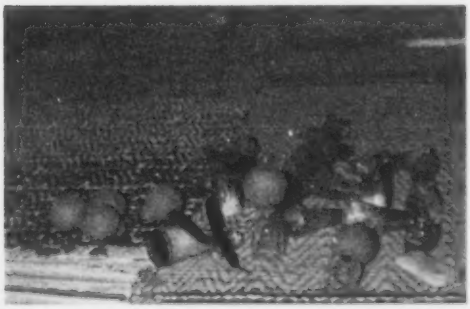
2 This definition is according to Laurits Bodker, ed. *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1965).

1
An old pioneer couple by their one-room log house.

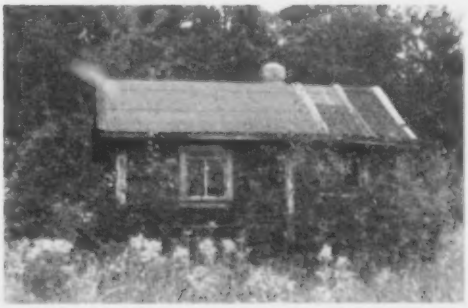
2
A narrator of many *tieläjä* legends and anecdotes, with his wife.

3
The cupping procedure: making the cuts.

4
The cupping procedure: placing the horns so they draw blood by suction.



5
Old and new cupping equipment. The glass cups with rubber bulbs were imported from Finland recently; the older-style horns were prepared in Canada.



6
The house in Canada where Kyyrän Jussi's apprentice lived the last years of his life.

The Immigrant Community[1]

Finns first arrived in the Sudbury district around 1885, drawn by employment prospects in the rapidly expanding mining operations. The settlement of the area followed a pattern typical of many Finnish immigrant communities. Like most immigrants, Finns first settled in industrial areas where opportunities for employment were greatest. However, as soon as they became financially secure and could obtain land, most Finns preferred to settle in rural areas. They were especially drawn to the lake-studded conifer and birch forests of northern Ontario, where they felt at home, as the physical characteristics of this area closely resemble Finland.

In 1901 the census listed 65.1 per cent of Finns as rural. By 1961 the number had decreased greatly, but still showed 31 per cent of Finns in rural settings. During the depression years especially, Finns also engaged in farming as a means of coping with unemployment. A large percentage, perhaps the majority, of the Finnish farms were carved out of the wilderness under conditions stipulated by the Homestead Act. Free land, given to those willing to clear and cultivate it, was a boon to the immigrants whose rural background would have induced them to return to the land in any case.

In addition to mining and agriculture, lumbering was one of the significant occupations for the Finns in the Sudbury district. Many of the immigrants were already accustomed to this type of work in Finland, and so the transition was relatively simple. Finns were also employed as construction workers and on railway or road gangs.

Finns have generally been among the most conservative of the immigrants and among the slowest to adjust to the new conditions. Rural Finns were reported as having been the slowest of all ethnic groups in the area to adopt English and to apply for Canadian citizenship.[2] Traditional customs such as the weekly sauna, certain family festivals and ethnic eating habits were preserved even by urban Finns. In the rural areas, farming techniques at first followed Finnish methods closely. Even the buildings and their layout were patterned on the Finnish example. Traditional social patterns were also better preserved in the rural areas. Group cohesion was somewhat greater than in urban areas, although scattered habitation sometimes tended to isolate the people from one another. There was a great deal of cooperation among the farmers. For example, much of the work was done by machinery owned in common. Traditional roofing bees and other work bees were also preserved as forms of cooperation.

In spite of the stress-reducing effect of ethnic communities in which close cooperation was possible and language difficulties were minimal, the immigrant situation was, nevertheless, not easy. In addition to anxieties caused simply by being in a foreign country where people spoke an unfamiliar language and had different customs, there were the very real problems of periodic unemployment and occasional ill health. Political and religious differences often divided the immigrant communities, but these were symptoms rather than causes of stress. The alienation of the children from Finnish ways and the isolation of the older people were among other causes of anxiety.

When the immigrants first arrived in Canada they were in most cases twice uprooted — first, from their native land and, second, from the rural environment in which they grew up. Those who later moved to the farms soon re-established patterns of life that did not differ greatly from the ones they had been accustomed to in Finland. Those who remained in cities merged with immigrants of many ethnic groups who formed the working classes at that time.

The full range of stresses experienced and the stress-reducing mechanisms employed by the immigrants remain to be studied. The present investigation deals with one such area, that of ill health, and attempts to explain how the anxieties it produced were handled in terms of the traditional learned responses familiar to the immigrant from his old-country background.

1 The following description of immigration is based mainly on O. W. Saarinen, *The Pattern and Impact of Finnish Settlement in Canada with Special Reference to the Sudbury District* (Sudbury, Ont.: Finnish-Canadian Centennial Committee, June 1967).

2 Saarinen, p. 3.

The *tietäjä* tradition in Finland that the older immigrant generation brought with them was a mixture of centuries-old beliefs and practices. The oldest, strongest, and most characteristic tradition was the shamanic inheritance shared by all Eurasian and Paleo-Arctic aborigines.

The traditional shaman was a man of many skills. Because of the people's belief in his ability to manipulate supernatural powers, he was called upon to help in almost any matter considered beyond the ability of an ordinary human. A shaman could use his powers for either good or evil. In the Finnish tradition the shaman who performed primarily good deeds within his various roles and the shaman who used his powers for evil are designated by the titles *tietäjä* and *noita* respectively. The use of these and other terms, however, is not always consistent and their regional connotations vary a great deal.

Doctors in the rural milieu were few, and often lived far away from a patient. They were also limited as to the illnesses they could cure. The alternatives for the patient were often dictated by the nature of the sickness. On the one hand there was a traditional way of dealing with the illness; on the other, there was the uncertainty about the doctor's capabilities. Above all, the patient sought reassurance, and this the *tietäjä* provided in a much more satisfactory manner than the overly formal, often unfriendly doctor. The patient's need for security and his anxieties over his malaise were catered to by the *tietäjä*, who used clever psychotherapeutic techniques. After a seance the patient could be assured that the cause of the illness had been found and eliminated.

The *tietäjä*s' roles were accepted; the underlying rationale supporting these roles had been instilled in the minds of the people and remained within the prevailing mode of thought. The patient was generally ignorant of anything better that medical science could offer. His choices were limited by his knowledge and by the actual conditions that existed. Thus, it is not surprising that in the rural milieu of the older immigrant generation the people often turned to the *tietäjä* rather than consult a doctor. This is the background that moulded the immigrant's beliefs and attitudes and determined his reaction under similar conditions in the new land. In the pages that follow, a brief description of the content and function of the traditional beliefs will be provided.

In present-day popular speech the term *tietäjä* refers to a person who possesses supernatural powers, and who employs both magic and natural means to cure the sick or to aid people with various other problems. The role of healer is so dominant in the activities of the *tietäjä* that most people accept the terms *tietäjä* ("knower") and *parantaja* ("healer") as synonymous. Nevertheless, *tietäjä*s were of many kinds. The name, whether taken by the person himself or ascribed to him, could include a number of roles of varying importance to the community. No single role can be used to define a *tietäjä*, although a hierarchy of the roles taken could be formulated, showing which are the most common. As mentioned, the *tietäjä* was primarily a healer, but upon closer scrutiny one finds the healing activity itself dependent on a number of roles, each with a hierarchy of its own. The healing roles were specialized according to the disease treated. The treatment was administered according to the beliefs concerning the origin and character of the illness rather than to its relevant physical aspects.

Healing, sorcery, and other applications of magic were based on the assumption that supernatural forces could be manipulated by certain techniques. The countermeasures taken by a *tietäjä* were directly related to the supernatural origin of the trouble. The entire sequence of behaviours — from finding the source of trouble to eliminating it — followed a traditional pattern played out in a dramatic performance by the *tietäjä*. These techniques, which involved both physical acts as well as incantations, were usually the carefully guarded property of individuals and families, and strict rules governed the passing on of secret knowledge.

The basic assumptions running throughout this study are that illnesses and various other troubles were categorized according to their origin and nature by the people themselves, that special behaviour patterns developed to cope with each threat as it was conceived, and that, finally, these patterns evolved into recognized roles, whose holders were known by some descriptive title, for example, "bloodstopper". When a person mastered several of these roles, especially some of the most important ones that had magic aspects, he became known as a

tietäjä, a person who knew more than ordinary humans. In time, the behaviour pattern adopted by the *tietäjä* became fixed into a magic ritual that, with individual variations, became part of the tradition known and accepted by *tietäjä* and client alike. The most complex pattern of role behaviour developed in response to certain beliefs about illness, so that we may even speak of it as a healing drama. To some extent this pattern was generalized to apply to other situations as well.

In the corpus of legends and memorates utilized in this study, the most common roles attributed to the *tietäjä* are those of seer, magician, diviner, bloodstopper, herbalist, maker of medicines and, by implication, psychotherapist. All of these roles can be taken on independently, and without a frequency analysis of a much larger collection of materials it is not possible to ascertain which role may be used to define a person as a *tietäjä*. However, a general observation — also made by most of the informants — is that a *tietäjä* is usually a person who (a) has knowledge about the supernatural, for example in the role of a seer, and (b) possesses the required skills to manipulate the supernatural for human ends.

Other minor roles often belonging to the *tietäjä*'s repertoire are those of bloodletter, cupper, bone-setter, masseuse, and midwife. However, the roles are commonly assumed independently of one another.

In order to find out how successful the *tietäjä* tradition has been in Canada, what part of it has been preserved, and how it has changed, it will be necessary to determine which of the above-mentioned roles have been used in the immigrant milieu and to examine the conditions that have aided or hindered their realization.

Enough evidence has been accumulated to date to suggest that the beliefs of those immigrants adhering to the magic world view of their old-country culture did not essentially change, provided that they were able to lead a rural existence in the new land. Isolation, the general conservatism of a rural population, lack of opportunities for education, and the tendency of older immigrants to adhere to Finnish ways may account for some of the resistance to change, although no correlations have been established. In some cases at least, the isolation of families or groups from the same area in Finland was found to be a significant factor in the preservation of their traditional beliefs.

The following examples illustrate the transferral of magic concepts to the new environment. (*See* Appendix II for an index of the quoted passages. The numbers below have been assigned a corresponding sound archives number in the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man.)

2.1. V.A. said that every place had its own tutelary spirit. Every house in———had its spirit and they can be seen, but he never said how one can make them visible.

2.2. A neighbour of ours, A.N., explained to us how the trees around every house belonged to the spirits of the place. They must never be cut. They're like ordinary trees, but they belong to the tutelary spirit. The largest trees here belong to the spirit, according to A.N. They're all white pine and he said not to cut them down. They have been standing there until now. We have to honour A.N.'s memory. It's just as easy to let them grow as cut them down. Besides, they're handsome trees otherwise. An axe won't touch them in my lifetime.

In the latter case, the informants acquired the belief from another immigrant.

Applications of traditional beliefs occur in situations similar to those receiving a magic interpretation in the old country.

2.3. When one carries a body one should avoid being startled. There was a man, N.B., an old soldier who used to live by the river; he is now dead. [A woman] was being buried when this man dropped his mitten in the grave over the coffin. N.B. said it has to be retrieved, but the man said it didn't matter. He said, "Don't say that, I'll get it for you. I don't care whether you will wear it or not, but it has to be retrieved." N.B. jumped in anyway and retrieved it. He was such a *poppaärjä* [wizard] who knew all sorts of things. He said that the man would have lost his arm had he left the mitten in the grave. There was some invisible power that acts. I know many cases like that.

2.4. I can't tell what the power is. But the people are as if separated from the living. I remember when my brother died, in the small cabin one evening. He was as if separated from me so that I couldn't stay in the same cabin. He didn't speak or anything. People who have taken alcohol are not affected, they're as if in another world. They're not afraid.

2.5. When visiting the cemetery at———I accidentally touched my husband's gravestone. I saw a dream about it later in the winter. It was a terrible thing. I was like my brother, in another world.

To some extent, one is led to suspect that the anxieties of immigrant life tend to increase the reliance on magic; fortune-telling, especially, seems to be thriving.

2.6. Finns do a lot of fortune-telling and believe in omens. They make these "fortune tables", cast lots and consult oracles.

2.7. I can foretell from cards. The cards go according to life. I've learned from books and from other people how to read cards. I don't know how it is that they can tell about life; whoever invented them must have been a very wise person.

2.8. Friends come to me to ask me to tell their fortunes from the cards. I make what is called a fortune table; it tells what is to come, what is on the heart and what is behind. People want to know whether certain things will come to pass or not and I consult the cards for them. I believe in them. There must have been someone who knew a little more than others who invented the cards. Otherwise they wouldn't know so much about life.

Others rely more on dreams and other omens.

2.9. Dreams also foretell the future but you can't explain them at the time — only later will you understand what they meant. If you dream all the time it doesn't mean anything, but if you dream seldom and see some long, unusual dream it certainly means something. A doctor once told me that dreams have significance and I believe it.

2.10. We had a large dog who, three weeks before my husband's death, howled late in

the evening. One old woman told me to see which way his nose was pointed because it would mean death in that direction. The dog howled for many days and had its nose toward the———Mine. My husband died at the mine three weeks thereafter.

Situations in the new country corresponding to those in the former homeland seem to be necessary for the continued existence of a tradition. This accounts, at least in part, for the preservation of beliefs associated with universal human problems; whereas beliefs tied to a particular locality or to social and cultural conditions are more difficult to transfer to new situations. The absence of witchcraft, for example, may be an indication of the changed social structure of the immigrant communities. The types of interpersonal relations common in Finland were not present in Canada. The extended family system could not be maintained in Canada. Cooperation with neighbours was better and, as everyone was generally better off than in the old country, the main motive for witchcraft – envy – was lacking. Also, in the immigrant situation much more emphasis was placed on the rewards gained by one's own initiative, which eroded the belief in the fixed amount of wealth from which one carved one's share at the expense of someone else.

Health matters remain a prime example of a situation of uncertainty not affected by immigration. People continue to have illnesses no matter what country they are in: if anything, the hard work and other pressures might even have increased the incidence of illness among the Sudbury area immigrants. Because illness is one of the most prevalent causes of anxiety among the immigrants, it is also a problem area in which they have most often relied on magic. The continued existence of both magic and non-magic healer roles is an indication of the needs felt by the immigrants.

The acquisition of healer roles in the new country did not differ essentially from that in Finland. Some healers came to Canada already trained in certain skills; others learned them here from other immigrants, relatives, or friends. Although the results of the field survey do not give a complete account of all the healers active in the community, the following specialists were discovered: four bloodstoppers, seven cuppers, four midwives, one bonesetter, six herbalists, two makers of other medicines, and several masseuses. Bloodletting and medicine-making were practised mainly by individuals and not applied to others on a significant scale. Magic was employed by several of the persons included in the above count. One woman also possessed the powers of a seer; another told the future from cards. Two men were generally recognized as having the powers of a *tietäjä*, although they did not employ them widely. Another man from Lake———was often mentioned as a *tietäjä*, but no specific information could be obtained concerning him. One woman still practised many of the roles common to the *tietäjäs*, but had no community recognition, even though her mother and uncle were widely known for their magic and healing. Another woman, now deceased, had a similar reputation.

In addition to consulting these specialists, other possibilities for treatment also existed in the community. Doctors were generally consulted, but there were always situations in which it was believed that the doctor could not help, or that he was too expensive or too far away. Distance, however, did not prevent the people from consulting a healer if they thought he could help. Traditionally, distance and strangeness have served to enhance a healer's reputation.

2.11. Indians can also cure a lot of things. They are even said to know a cure for cancer, but they won't give it to medical science. No, they keep it to themselves.

2.12. Out West some Swede was supposed to have a medicine that could heal me; I had a growth on my back; it weighed two pounds. The doctor operated finally and told me not to believe in quacks.

2.13. There is a man, I've planned to go to him next week, he's some kind of healer. Hundreds have gone to see him; he just lays his hands on you to heal you. He lives near———. . . . An old buddy of mine went there and was cured. . . . He said you could give whatever you wanted; that he didn't heal, that it was God that healed. His foot was completely cured. Also his asthma disappeared. He coughed terribly for a while, but it all cleared up. He cured by faith; you have to believe in the cure.

Chiropractors, hydrotherapists and naturopaths are considered to be in the same class as medical doctors.

2.14. Some naturopath in Michigan bathed people in the sauna and massaged them. A neurotic was cured in baths mixed with

mud from a swamp. His nerves were cured.

2.15. A chiropractor only bends one and gives electric shocks. Real doctors are best, but if nothing else is available, it's good to have a healer handy.

Others recognized as quacks or plain frauds are at the other end of the spectrum.

2.16. One man travelled around here who made medicines from grasses, flowers and everything for the people. He told us that he would make medicine for whatever ailed us, that he is competent in that. We told him that we had no complaints and he said, "Well, you can keep your own troubles." It was at least 25 years ago that he was around here. But there are so many deceivers among them just after your money. There was another man who went around during the haying season selling medicines for horses. He was just an impostor; there was nothing but water in them.

These examples show the diversity of healing roles recognized by the immigrant community. Next we shall see how these roles are combined and under what conditions they are practised.

V.A., born at———in Finland in the 1800s, was a direct heir to the famous Finnish *tietäjä*, Kyyrän Jussi, to whom he had been apprenticed. V.A.'s reputation derived mainly from his association with Kyyrän Jussi and from curiosity aroused by his rather withdrawn personality.

2.17. V.A. was an apprentice of Kyyrän Jussi. He never told us anything; he was very secretive. He lived in a small two-room shack on a farm at———and did odd jobs as a farmhand until his death in [the 1950s]. He was especially noted as a gelder because of his ability to control bleeding.

Bloodstopping was the only one of his *tietäjä* roles that he was known to have practised in Canada.

2.18. V.A. hadn't learned bloodstopping, but only had to hear of bleeding and he could get it stopped. He was a hard man, but too quiet for a *tietäjä*.

His association with Kyyrän Jussi was common knowledge; he apparently enjoyed telling stories about his training period. People who knew him well described his background.

2.19. V.A. was the only one who was something like an apprentice to Kyyrän Jussi. He learned a lot from him, but as he was such a quiet man he never practised any of the tricks.

2.20. All of Jussi's knowledge went to the grave with him. V.A. learned some things, but he refused to take the real knowledge.

2.21. He had asked this V.A. who was here to come to work for him. There were two conditions. He must not fear at all and the rewards are greater than he could get from anywhere else, but he shouldn't be afraid. At the same time he told V.A. that just now there was a man at some station in———waiting for them. "All we have to do is go; he'll take us. You don't have to do work, but you must not fear." That was enough for V.A.; he said he didn't want to go. V.A. knew him well; this is all true. It's not lies or imagination; he cured everything. People came to his place or Jussi went to see them.

2.22. He wanted V.A. for his apprentice and told him exactly who would be waiting for them at a station. He said that the rewards would be great, the food good, but there was the condition that he must not fear. He would have taken V.A. to places and shown him things that ordinary nerves would not have been able to stand.

2.23. V.A. had a chance to become a *tietäjä* but he didn't dare. He was told that there would be no work and the pay would be better than with the big shots, only one condition, that he must not be afraid. That was enough, V. A. told us. But he knew some things. Sometimes he told us things.

Part of the training included the traditional encounter with the spirits of the dead, which a *tietäjä* was supposed to know how to control. Going to church appears here as a kind of initiation rite.

2.24. V.A. told us a lot about Jussi as he had spent a lot of time with him. Once Jussi took V.A. to the———church. The church doors were locked, but Jussi took him in. The church was as full of people as it could be and everyone came to greet him, but Jussi said not to give a hand to anyone. He just looked on for a while and they then departed. I lived with V.A. at ———and he always said it was true. V.A. must have been about confirmation age when this happened.

2.25. When Kyyrän Jussi took V.A. to the church all he did was to blow into the keyhole and the doors opened. He did some tricks at the altar, but I don't know what.

2.26. He even went to a church to fetch something. The doors opened to him by themselves. V.A. told me this also. He had some power that opened the doors. He did not need keys, although the door was locked.

Kyyrän Jussi seems to have used the visit to impress his powers on the young apprentice and perhaps at the same time to test his courage and susceptibility. However, V.A. never carried his training to completion and, although he was said to have learned many of his teacher's skills, he rarely practised them. How much of his reluctance was due to his personality—he was said to have been a very quiet, serious man—and how much to the conditions is difficult to determine. Although there was probably some need for his abilities, he was not confident enough to apply his knowledge. However, V.A., as an avid storyteller, did much to keep alive at ———the knowledge of the magic world view and the *tietäjä*'s roles. Most of the informants from the area had heard of his exploits with Kyyrän Jussi.

C.G., another———resident, was also well known for his abilities as a bloodstopper.

As a former sailor he had been around the world, spoke several languages, and appears to have been more forceful a person than many of the other healing specialists in the area. The following account describes a traditional demonstration of power by C.G.

2.27. My mother told me that C.G. once gave a demonstration of his skill. He had been drinking with some other men. He had cut his wrist and let it bleed for a while and then told the others to look, as it was going to stop and not bleed any more. At that moment the bleeding stopped. My mother told me this.

In the case of C.G. the role of bloodstopper was considered a natural gift. He did not perform any other kind of healing. His neighbours and daughter describe his ability as follows.

2.28. C.G. had bloodstopping as a natural ability. He had such a hard nature that all he had to do was to hear about a case of bleeding that couldn't be stopped and he'd say "It will now stop", and it would stop.

2.29. I knew one bloodstopper in this country, C.G., here at———. He lived not far from here, a little way past the store. He is also dead. I believe he was from———. He stopped bleeding also. He stopped bleeding from my father, who was fixing a fence and struck his hand with an axe and blood came all over the place. He was looking for a bandage when Mother said, "C.G. is here, he will stop the bleeding", and at the same time the bleeding stopped. He is the only man here that I know about who could do it. There was another case too, when [a man] struck his foot with an axe and C.G. stopped it from bleeding also. He simply had to look at it. It must have been concentrated thought.

2.31. A number of people have told me that my father had this skill, that he could stop bleeding. I don't know how he did it. My mother also talked about it, but she couldn't explain it either. It was some kind of magic.

2.32. My father could get the blood to coagulate, to become so hard it wouldn't flow any more.

A.N. was another *tietäjä* figure known to most residents of the area. They respected him more for his knowledge than for his actual deeds.

2.33. I've also heard about A.N., that he did magic. He was a sort of minor *tietäjä* also. He was from———.

The one case of bloodstopping attributed to him offers a better picture of how lore about a person is created and spread than about what actually took place.

2.34. Here one D.N. shot another man. The bullet went through his throat here and he was about to bleed to death. D.N. remembered he had a brother A.N., that his brother could stop the blood, and told someone to fetch him. They did this and the bleeding stopped. It happened here at the N.'s place. And the bleeding stopped. But we only heard about this and didn't see it. Mrs. R.'s former husband was there, Mr. N. himself and his wife. The man would have bled to death.

2.35. I heard about this Mr. N., who used to own this land we're on now, that he was a bloodstopper. There was a case in which his brother shot R.A., who had been working for him, shot him in the throat. His sister was the mistress in the home of A.N. She yelled a great deal, saying that they should take R.A. to A.N. to get the bleeding stopped. My husband was there, so he heard it all.

2.36. In Finland I remember a man once cut his foot with an axe and the others went to tell a man who was a bloodstopper. As soon as he got word about it the bleeding stopped and the edges of the cut turned white. It ached for some time after, but didn't bleed any more. I've heard said that A.N. could also do that.

In the last account the incident was associated with a previous case of bloodstopping; in any of the reports the actual facts are of secondary importance. Motif attraction, or the attribution of traditional features to a likely person who was known to have practised magic, seems to have occurred here.

The wife of A.N.'s brother was also known for her cures, and in general had the reputation of a wise woman, a kind of *tietäjä*. An interesting combination of roles mastered by her includes most of the healer roles practised by women in the New World.

2.37. Mrs. N. was a real expert on natural cures, what plants were good for medicines and so forth. She was also a masseuse.

2.38. Old lady N. had learned from experience to cure, and she did a little cupping too.

2.39. The two women who had more experience than others and were considered as

midwives at———were Mrs. N. and Mrs. P. They hadn't any education, but had learned from experience.

The hypothesis that tradition is best preserved in small, isolated groups or in family situations finds support from the N. family history. Most of the information about Mrs. N. comes from her daughter F.S., who admitted to knowing only a fraction of her mother's cures and magic. Neighbours were even less informed on the subject; they only knew her as a very wise old woman. Some of her cures were still practised by her grandchildren.

2.40. [A woman], Mrs. N.'s granddaughter, whom I saw just the other day, was talking about getting some wormwood for her aching hand.

This, however, is very minor knowledge compared to that of the grandmother. Information from F.S. gives us fascinating glimpses into the beliefs of her mother.

2.41. My mother advised me; she was an old woman then, 84 years old. She said that "You are still young; you might still need skills some time during your life, that it would be good for you to know some things. But remember that you don't talk to anyone about them. If someone complains and you know the reason, still tell them that you don't know. Be adamant in regard to it." So I haven't divulged this either. There have been a few cases in this country also in which people were suffering from frights and things like that.

2.42. My mother taught me some things. She said, should I ever have any difficulties—I was very young at the time—but one has to have a very hard nature about it; he shouldn't be afraid or anything. You have to get somewhat angry at the illness and the troubled life. "It's devilish that you surround me, but you won't overcome me!" One has to really get angry, otherwise the illness will not depart.

2.43. One has to get thoroughly angry at the illness, as my mother said, it won't release the sick person otherwise, that it wishes to torment him. One should see a dream about it in order to release the person.

The last example illustrates the belief concerning the necessity for the healer to achieve a semi-ecstatic condition in order to bring about a cure.

The illness aetiology of Mrs. N. and F.S. is dominated by the contagion explanation. Illness is derived from contact with impersonal supernatural powers, *väki*, among which the power of the dead is especially virulent. The cure for this was a magic wash that removed the contagion.

2.44. The wash that my mother taught me is good for contagion. It will leave with the wash. Should someone complain, don't tell them about it. You take a basin (we can use this). I don't have scissors here. You cross this [hostility] from both sides like this. In Finland they used shears, so that neither can persecute the other. They are equal. Take a little warm water for the wash. You have to startle the person a little. The man, I washed his face with my hands. You have to put it in the bottle and take it to a churchyard or crossroads. The man was so innocent. I washed him and told him that now he was ready and grabbed him suddenly from behind the collar, yanked him and at the same time said a blessing loudly (one has to use bold words), so that he was really startled, but the trouble disappeared; his face cleared up. He had used medicines but they didn't help at all. Don't tell this to anyone should some of your acquaintances ask. Just tell that medicine will clear it up. It would be terrible if you as a young man got such an ailment, that your face would be sometimes dry and at other times bloody, and you had to suffer from it all your life. It looks terrible even on another person. It is sore and—but it was removed by the wash.

2.45. My husband — it's this close to me. There was a kind of accident, or not really an accident, but that a person was wavering. There was a man, a relative, my sister's man. Could be there was something wrong with him. He was with us and suddenly got a kind of mental illness. He was all right otherwise except that he needed his adenoids operated on, according to the doctor, but he had no money for it, so he let it go. He died finally. Anyway when he was returned from the hospital for burial, my husband was startled by the body somehow and got a terrible pain in his legs. He said he couldn't stand it, that he'd die. I said that it was nothing, but he kept complaining for a week. I saw a dream then about the man; his name was A. He said why weren't his eyes washed. And I was revealed the cause of the illness. I said it could be conquered and it was re-

moved. I said I would wash them and that was the end of the trouble. I was a fiery person then. He would have had to suffer the rest of his life otherwise. People get many ills from frights and some have to keep them for a lifetime.

2.46. You need no special ingredients for the wash, just water. Take a basin and some steel tools, a knife and shears. I don't have shears here now, but these scissors would do as well. You take them and place them crossed like this in the basin. You wash the afflicted part and it will remove the burning. Then take the water to the grave and say, "You keep yours, and I'll keep mine." It will go away.

These reports describe a complete healing drama little changed from the shamanic ritual practised for millennia in the forests of northern Eurasia before being transplanted to Canadian soil. The following cases illustrate the ritual in detail, giving information about the believed origin, nature and cure of the illness. The complex ritual combines the roles of seer, psychotherapist and magician.

2.47. My husband who died told me. It was during the time when bodies were taken to the cemetery by truck. It was a large truck and the box was on it. There were many people on it to accompany it. My neighbour's wife was on it and she said she immediately resorted to Mother's help, as her foot began to ache, that she had gotten a bit startled. There had been flowers on the coffin and they had fallen off and she had tried to stop them from falling with her hand. It affected her foot, but Mother saved her from suffering. I knew it, she saved her and her foot bothered her no more, although she has been long dead now. Mother made a wash for it. You can take it, it's not necessary to take it to the grave, to the crossroads, anywhere you can toss it, but you have to remember not to look behind as you leave. It is going to remain there for certain. It doesn't matter where you take the water as long as there are many forks in the road (that will do as well), but in Finland they took it mostly to the cemetery. They put the water in a bottle and threw it there, that "Keep them there, where they belong" such troubles. It's very important to know such things, should it happen in one's own case, like mine when my husband would have died from the pain, or at least lost his foot.

2.48. One man came to work for us. He no longer remembered where he had gotten this trouble. If he had seen a dream he could have been relieved of it, but it didn't happen and the man was not freed of the trouble. If you see a dream, you can be sure of the cause of the illness. You have to know it beforehand just like a *tietäjä*. It should be revealed to you in a dream. I asked my husband what was with the man, as he was so broken up, full of scabs, really horrible looking. He said that the man had been working on the railroad when a train had broken loose, gone off the tracks into the woods and he had nearly gotten trapped under the derailed cars and was greatly frightened by it. This had happened on the CPR and soon after the incident his face started to break out. He went to doctors, but they couldn't do anything. His face kept seething and had started up again when he came to our place, my husband told me. I told him that if I see a dream about it, then it was caused by the accident. And I saw a dream about it—one night—the train fell, was derailed and coffins began to come from the countryside, how they came, one after another, black and grey and all kinds. So I said, now I know where the man got the trouble. I washed his face with water and it wasn't two weeks before it was all cleared up. If I hadn't done it he would have had to keep the affliction for the rest of his life. People have asked me what I did, but I just tell them I don't know anything.

2.49. There was a girl here, I don't now remember her name, who had something wrong with her knee. She had gotten it from some waters; I believe it too. My mother cured her. Nothing would help her, the sore kept oozing, but mother took and cured her. You have to be careful in the spring with water. One often gets ills from still waters then, like on the shores of a lake or such. You have to take care not to expose yourself to such contagion.

The style of narration is rambling, with occasional unfinished sentences and lapses in memory, but nevertheless the accounts furnished invaluable testimony of an ancient ritual practised in Canada by second-generation Finns. F.S.'s dreams are a variation of the shamanic trance, which ranges from light dreaming to complete unconsciousness among the various peoples practising it. Mrs. F.S. admitted to a tendency toward visions.

2.50. When I was young I saw in dreams that I was flying. I was on a mountain and flew down over the chasms.

The aptitude was apparently never completely utilized; she was not generally known as a seer.

Although F.S.'s magic cures were known to only a few people, her abilities as an herbalist and medicine-maker were well known to residents of the area. A compress made from wormwood (*maliheinä*/*Artemisia absinthium*) is one of her favourite treatments for pain.

2.51. My father had bought a new motorcycle and my little brother had managed somehow to get it started and had gotten his hand caught in the chain so it got all torn up. They took him to the doctor, but he couldn't do anything for the pain and the boy couldn't sleep for three nights. Finally Mother made a poultice of wormwood and put in on the hand. That night the boy slept peacefully. Wormwood is quite common around here. They're especially plentiful in the neighbour's yard. It is very powerful in drawing. Should you have some boil or such, you can use wormwood to draw it out, to open it up. You simply take a bunch of these plants, put them on the afflicted part, bind them with a rag and wet it a little bit. It has such a strong drawing power that it is hard to keep it on. You should keep it on, however; keep it on for a few hours and then change it for a new one. It draws a boil open very quickly. If you get a splinter in your finger and can't get it out and it gets infected, put them on it and soon it will start to open up and the splinter will come out. This grass is really good for something like that. You could use this even in the hot-water bath for rheumatism, as it draws so strongly. But I know very little of these things. I know better how to cure the consequences of a fright or troubles resulting from contacts with corpses. I've helped others with them, so I know for certain they were relieved.

2.52. My mother taught me that wormwood is good for all swellings, boils; it opens up all boils. It is soaked in warm water, placed on a cloth and placed on the affected part. You can feel it draw. It eases the pain.

My husband cut his finger in a circular saw while sawing wood. It was very painful, but I eased the pain with the compress.

During my interview visits I noticed her using a salve on her dog's nose to treat a bad case of poison ivy. She had learned it from her neighbour, who was also an herbalist.

2.53. I have a remedy for poison ivy. You melt some sheep fat, add some powder, salt, and the best kind of tar. This will remove it, no doubt about it. Mrs. K. taught this to me. She was a real old-country person.

Mrs. I.K. in———-had a reputation comparable to that of Mrs. I. of———. She, too, was a master of many roles, including those of a magic curer, herbalist, cupper, and bonesetter. I was unable to get detailed information on her activities, but the magic washes she taught Mrs. M.M. of———indicate that her adherence to the magic world view was just as strong as that of Mrs. N.

2.54. Let me interrupt. I'm also a kind of a *puoskari* [healer], but I have been taught. I can, if someone gets startled, and something follows from this that one suffers, I can stop this. I've done this twice, right here at our place. Our granddaughter was bitten by a dog in the schoolyard and she couldn't get any sleep at night or rest. She just kept repeating, "The dog is coming, the dog is coming." Well, I told her, "Grandmother is Grandmother. You come now and do as I say, but you can't laugh. I have such magic, but you have to believe in what I do." So she said, "All right." So I went and got the things—you have to get water from a place in which the water runs from south to north and where people pass over it; you get water from there and earth from the place where the fright had occurred. You take some of this earth and mix it into the water, and then you wash the person with this water, and after washing I said "Our Father" with the girl and then she could go. But I had to go then and take the water to a place where four roads cross and throw the water over my left shoulder. The girl didn't say anything after that. This I did, but I had been taught. This grandmother K. taught me.

2.55. Another time our boy was in a similar state and we took him from doctor to doctor. Once we spent a whole day with him and Q. and he said he didn't know what was wrong with him, as he always put his hands thus [as if to ward off something], but that he has some trouble. Mrs. K. saw the boy and told me not to let the boy go to the doctor any more as she was going

to advise me and the boy was going to be cured. And she advised me to do just that.

And you had to take water to the place where he had gotten frightened and take some earth from the same place. And the boy was cured; you've all seen that there is nothing wrong with him. (This happened while we were still at T.'s and now I did it to my daughter's daughter.) The boy was about seven years old then. He was frightened when we took some cattle to a barn and he was in there and we didn't know it and we locked the doors. The calves were very wild, having been out all summer, and the boy was frightened of them. The old lady saw a dream, and said the boy will not be cured by doctor's medicines, but with her medicines he'll be cured. And this happened. And she knew much; she told us that the boy had been frightened in a place where there were only small panes in the windows and he had been frightened of cattle. I'm still old-fashioned enough for these things and I could see that it worked from this other case two years ago. The girl was eight years old then. The old magic practices still hold. Now you others can continue, heh, heh.

Any one of the roles previously discussed could be held by a person without necessitating or implying other skills. The abilities of S.M., who is a seer, are described below by her husband, herself, and her husband's sister.

2.56. There aren't any among the immigrants who have *tietäjä* skills; at least I haven't heard. But seers there are; there is one of them [indicating his wife]. We lived in———. A house burned there in February; it was very cold. The siren wailed and we looked out of the window but didn't see a thing; it meant there was a fire, but as it was so cold we went back to bed and it was between 2 and 3 a.m. We went back to bed and in the morning I went to work. My wife told me she had seen in a dream that the store had been burned by someone and that they had said that the small house beside it should have burned too, but they had to go put it out. And it became clear how the house had been burned; a candle had been put under some steps and had started the fire. She [S.M.] had not talked to anyone about it, but had been told in the dream.

2.57. Another case was such that at the work site where they filled everything with gravel, the railroad was (this was long ago, some 40 years ago) this railroad track gave in and the train went down along with the engine and one man with it. The soft land rose up on the sides and the track sunk into the earth. No one could find him although everyone was looking for him, but then my wife said that if she dared she could tell exactly where the man was, as she had seen a dream showing how it happened. It was as if she had been standing in a place from where the accident site was visible and she had seen the man raise his arm as he was going down, saying, "Tell them that I am here in this spot." The man was found on that spot. There are seers of this sort who dream of true things. There are many such cases. The man was a stranger [non-Finn] who was completely unknown to us.

2.58. I have a power to sense when somethink bad happens, a kind of instinct, that bothers or worries me before it happens. I had seen a dream in which I was told to go to———. I asked, "What's there?" And they raised a coffin lid and I thought, "Well, that's it." These are true things that I have seen.

2.59. I heard a sound in the barn as if snow had fallen from the roof and when I returned to the house my daughter was ill and then she died of diphtheria. The sound had been an omen, for there was nothing outside the barn that could account for the noise.

2.60. Another time these boats collided which had some friends of ours there and were drowned. One of them appeared to her in a dream saying, "Don't worry over us, we are very well off here." She said she could be up for a certain number of hours, I don't remember how many it was, and then she had to return to the grave. The woman had told us, when we saw her off, not to worry about her. These are the sorts of things that happen. It had bothered me for some time, but after the dream I was gradually released from having to remember them. They're such "quirks".

2.61. Another time I told Q.W. that something unusual was happening at the W.'s, that either D. or his daughter was dying. It was only three days before the girl died. I saw in a dream as if I were with Q.W., and D. came dressed in dark clothes and we went to the kitchen where the grandmother and mother of the girl were mak-

ing a bed with white sheets. So I said, "I'll go after D.", as he was going out to the milk room and there was this coffin made up in the yard. So I told Q.W. that the girl was going to die. In three days I saw Q.W. and he told me, "So much for the old lady's dreams. Now they've come true; the girl's gone." Yes. The dreams just come. I have no visions or other premonitions. They just come.

2.62. I don't believe in spirits, but some people might have special gifts. My brother's wife has a skill. Her friends drowned . . . and it bothered her tremendously. The woman came to her in a dream and told her not to worry about them as they were well off. She had a natural talent for sensing what was going to happen, especially before some big events.

Another healing practice that is still very much alive in the area is cupping and its variations. Currently there are three known cuppers, two of whom practise regularly and one who retired just a few years ago. Two of these women were interviewed in detail, and their candid answers give quite a thorough picture of what constitutes the cupper's role. The accounts below give some of the reasons why people go to a cupper.

2.63. Cupping is needed to remove broken surface blood. It coagulates and is made to move by massaging, but if it's worse it has to be drawn out. It's black as tar, so help me God. Formerly when one had to walk three, four miles to a camp across soft marshes, the feet used to suffer from it. The feet used to get heavy from heavy work. Massaging helps.

2.64. Cupping is done for high blood pressure. I've been cupped for a toothache. It was done outside in very hot weather and I got sick from it. The cheek swelled up and was infected for a long time.

2.65. Bad blood was once cupped from my wrist. It has to be kept warm; a cold cloth on it first and then something warm on it. I had a large boil on it and it was cured by the cupping.

2.66. I got my legs overly tired from working on the road for four days in very cold weather. Once it was 53 below. I had them cupped afterwards, 10 horns on both sides and they felt lighter immediately. They didn't swell or anything, but just felt heavy and the blood that came from them was ugly. The troubled blood is black; it gets dark if it doesn't circulate properly.

2.67. Bloodletting is good for blood pressure or rheumatism.

Of the area cuppers, G.Y., now retired, had never liked cupping, but had felt called upon to do it to help people.

2.68. Then Mother began cupping here after she had sent for horns from Finland. People came to know about it and she cupped them. Some paid her, though she never set any fee for them. And when we moved to the farm I had to help Mother with it. I was as a right hand for her and she forced me to help. I wouldn't have done it for anything, but she showed me how. I learned by cupping her first. When people learned about it, they asked me, especially after Mother got too old to do it. She said she no longer cupped, but that I will do it. She was [very old] when she died. That work would have lasted me until this day had I wanted to do it. Many people still call up, but I refuse to do it. It's against the law and I'm an old woman and my nerves are such that I feel so responsible about how it goes and whether there will be any after-effects, so I gave it up altogether. There's another person in ——— who'll do it.

2.69. My mother learned it from [another woman]. It's not difficult. The horns are drawn tight. There's a membrane over the end; it's put on so it holds a vacuum, and then the cuts are made and the horns are put on again and it's replaced as long as there is blood. You can put them almost anywhere except on arteries; only the surface blood is drawn. Very often the surface blood collects so that legs, for example, will feel heavy. Removing the extra blood relieves the pressure and removes the aches associated with it. One has to be careful not to cup someone who has diabetes, a tendency to faint, or whose wounds might get infected; that's the only danger. It could lead to blood-poisoning. None of my patients ever got sick, thank God for that. I always told them not to put anything on them, that they'll sting for a while at first, but I put soap on them only. The wounds were closed with the soap. Cupping is good even for varicose veins as long as you remove only the surface blood. Nobody has such bad veins you can't find some spot to cup. Some want to be cupped so much that they have horns all over the body. They have them on the back, neck, legs, arms.

My mother started cupping here. Her friends always used to come and talk about having various aches, heavy legs and so on. Well, go to the cupper, but there was no cupper. Well, another woman will cup us, and she'd have to. Many times she'd have to cup in a house when the people didn't have a sauna, just heat some water. I've done the same many times in the city, but it should be done in a sauna.

2.70. The warmth, water and cleanliness make sauna the ideal place for cupping, as long as the cupper has the energy to remain in the heat. Many times I was there for two hours at a time when they wanted many horns.

The cuts were made with a knife or straight razor with its tip cut off so that it was even. I had a puncher with eight blades, but it was too stiff to use. Also I had glass suction cups, but they're not as good as the cow horns. They come loose and break easily.

One has to get a pig's bladder for the horns. It is blown full of air and rubbed until it is very thin. The pieces are cut from it for the horns. The horns have to be sucked to draw the blood inside them. The cuts have to be deep enough to draw blood; they have to go through the skin. The soap used is ordinary bath soap. I used to use Sunlight and it was very good.

The horns are whittled when made, cleaned out inside. The bladder is simply tied on with thread. It comes off occasionally, but I keep extra ones on hand. You have to make three cuts on the bladder to start it; it doesn't draw otherwise. It draws so much that it pops when it finally comes off. They get so full, especially when you cup someone on the shoulders who has a lot of blood, that they fall off by themselves. The horns are reapplied as long as the blood lasts. If they don't fall off by themselves they have to be taken off. The cuts close up and have to be scraped so that the blood will continue to come and not coagulate. Cupping is good for aching feet, high blood pressure and dizziness. It is especially good for boils. This neighbour's man had boils all the time and he kept asking me to cup him, but I refused. I finally gave in and cupped him and he hasn't had a boil since. He had bad blood and that's what caused the boils. Now when he is drunk he always praises me and brags about my skills, but he is very shy when sober. He always remembers what a good deed it was. Others have tried to come on account of his talk, many others. They ask me to cup them too, since he had had such good results.

2.71. [*Interviewer:* What other forms of bloodletting are there?]

There's also a technique called *kassaaminen*. You simply make cuts with a wood splinter, enough to allow the blood to come out. This is still surface blood, not from an artery. The blood is simply wiped off.

Bloodletting [*suonenlyönti*] is from an artery; an artery is cut. This woman had no one to cup her, so she simply did it herself. One should be cupped at least once a year; otherwise the blood gets too thick. The excess should be let out.

[*Interviewer:* Do you remember how cupping was done in Finland?]

In Finland there were a lot of cuppers. There were several in our parish who lived in our steambath. They were mostly single old women. They didn't compete with one another or anything. They simply did their job when called upon. People would hear that there is a cupper in such-and-such a place and would go there and in turn tell others. So it went. They also went from house to house. I haven't done that much, but I've been fetched by car and had a sauna heated and I cupped there. I've been all the way to Timmins for cupping. No one else except L.H. cups around here now.

[*Interviewer:* How much do you charge for your work?]

The patients pay almost anything for cupping, but I didn't do it for money. The most I've ever asked for was $10 for those who demanded a lot of horns. They paid by the number of horns. Usually I asked for less, but they'd always pay more. Even earlier they'd pay me $4, $3, $5, $2, but then money was money.

[*Interviewer:* Do you also massage?]

People used to ask me to massage them, but I wouldn't do it as I was not a masseuse. I told them to go first to a masseuse and then come here. In Finland the cuppers would always massage them first to get the blood moving. I had them bathe in the sauna first. There were some who couldn't take the sauna at all and others who'd go to the sauna first and then faint while being cupped. The movement of the blood, when it starts moving when one is being cupped, made them faint.

The use of the bath whisks [*vastat*] is also good. I always had whisks ready for them and asked them to bathe and whisk themselves real well and then I'd go in afterwards. Some of them would take a drink to get the blood circulating. I didn't like it, but allowed it, and when they offered me some I always declined it. I have never drunk any. I used to go and rinse my mouth with iodine water afterwards for fear of contagion. Blood would sometimes get through the membranes into the mouth. I never got anything, but I was always careful to rinse my mouth. . . .

[*Interviewer:* What did the people say about the results of the cupping?]

People used to come tell me afterwards that the cupping had helped. I once cupped a woman on the shoulder for shoulder ache and to this day she remembers and talks about how it helped. There was water. When cupping you get blood first and then water. It's the water that makes one ache. I am a full believer in cupping, not because I do it but because it has helped me myself.

[*Interviewer:* Did you know A.G., who also cupped around here?]

I've heard of A.G. and have even cupped her. Many customers came to me and asked me to cup them. I often refused and told them to go to A.G., but they wouldn't. They said if I cupped them they'd let me, but they wouldn't let A.G. do it. I don't know what it was; perhaps she drank.

[*Interviewer:* How about J.L.?]

There was a J.L. who cupped in——— earlier and massaged. She was a very good masseuse. I got this one woman for cupping from the same place. She was a very fat woman and her feet were very bad; her blood smelled very bad. I wouldn't have cupped her for anything. There were others whose blood had no smell at all. . . . She finally died of diabetes.

L.H. of———has a similar background, although she willingly learned to cup in Finland, because of her interest in the work.

2.72. I learned cupping from my mother. It is at least in the third generation as far as I know. I was taught to cup first when I was only 12 years old. My mother felt ill and asked me to cup her; it was the first time for me.

2.73. I didn't bring these horns from Finland, but others had them sent, since they knew me and I knew I could do it, and there was a need for it.

2.74. I was interested in cupping when I saw my mother do it, and she said to me that it would be good that I learn the skill as she did not want to take it to the grave with her and no one else dared to learn it. Thus she taught me, holding on to my hand, every time she had a chance. First I cupped only family members. She taught me how it was done and how cleanliness was most important above all. People came to know I cupped my mother, as she required I cup her twice a year, and soon I was cupping other people also. I was quite young then; this was while I was still in Finland.

The similarities in the training of a cupper and of a *tietäjä* are striking. The knowledge is considered as something sacred; it must not go to the grave with the possessor, but must be passed on. Formerly, cupping was much more associated with magic than it is now. It should be noted that L.H.'s mother was also a wise woman, who did many other things as well; for example, she knew herbs and cured by medicines. L.H. knew a little about cures, but rarely practised them. She believed implicitly in the benefits of cupping and even cupped herself.

2.75. Cupping is good for heavy feet. The change of surface blood makes the feet feel lighter. . . . Cupping also helps with boils which doctors can't cure. I cured my husband, who had a lot of boils, by cupping. This was 10 years ago and he hasn't had a boil since.

She cited a typical case in which someone had been helped by cupping.

2.76. There was a man who was under doctor's care for rash, and it wasn't getting any better. He had been given my name and came to see if I could help, so I said I'd try. He got sick leave from his work and I cupped him several times. I made the cuts as shallow as possible so that when he went back for an examination the doctor wouldn't notice them. His legs were clean when he returned and he was allowed to go back to work. The doctor said that he should continue the medicines as they apparently were the right ones. He threw them in the wastebasket and visited me from time to time until the trouble no longer recurred.

Here also the parallels to the testimonials of visits to a *tietäjä* are obvious. The antagonism towards medical doctors is revealed as an ingrained attitude.

Another indication of the immigrants' belief in magic powers is their willingness to consult *tietäjä*s in Finland. First of all, they are aware of existing *tietäjä*s through correspondence with relatives.

2.77. There is a *tietäjä*, presently at———, who knows everything. He foretells everything from a palm; he knows all. He was jailed in Finland during the war because he forecast that Germany will lose the war and Finland will also. He was jailed, but they had to free him because things went just as he said. He cures epileptics and all kinds of the sick. He has forecast his own death. He says he will die in a violent manner. He says he knows it, but cannot avoid it. He's from———.

2.78. The neighbour lady is about to write to Finland to a *tietäjä to* find out what happened to their son, who got lost over 30 years ago. They were supposed to write the question down and send it to Finland with money.

One family was even mailed incantations from friends in Finland, who hoped they might prove applicable in Canada. The incantations were on pages torn from a collection of Finnish folklore; apparently their being in print had not diminished their efficacy. The incantations were annotated with the following comments: "The missing pages are not worth anything. I'm sending the most important. I don't want to send many at a time in case they don't reach you." On childbirth: "This was used by my mother." Two incantations for boils: "These are good." On toothaches: "Grandfather's advice was similar." On fox trapping: "The words 'Fox for me, mittens for the devil' are just as good and they are on the top of the stump." In addition, an incantation for snake bite was circled on the page, and another for "creaky wrist" (*narri*—see item 7.B.68 of Appendix I) had a picture drawn next to it showing how the striking was done with an axe. A total of 98 pages had been sent, containing incantations dealing with all kinds of situations, although a clear majority dealt with illnesses. The incantations and the notes accompanying them speak clearly of the continuity of old-country magic tradition in the New World.

In one case the belief in *tietäjä*s was strong enough to motivate a trip to Finland for consultation.

2.79. My mother took my brother, when he was small, to Kyyrän Jussi, to Finland, as he was very sick and no doctor could help him here, but Kyyrän Jussi couldn't do anything for him either. My brother had tuberculosis. He couldn't help him.

2.80. Kuuvalon Jussi was really a seer. One of the M. boys was sickly when young (he is now dead, but he used to live here in this country), and his mother took the child to Kuuvalon Jussi. Jussi would have cured the boy, but the mother was in such a hurry to return to Canada that there was no time for the cure. The boy should have been left with him for two weeks, to be cured. He was injured in the hip, I think. The old man even told of a dream he had seen, that they had gone to Creighton or Sudbury with horses and his father had been drunk and the horses had gotten startled and run into the woods and it was there the boy had gotten injured. Isn't it amazing that a woman comes from Canada and he sees a dream telling it just like it happened. He was an extremely old man, about L.'s size, a broad-shouldered man. He was a very friendly man, sympathetic.

Since appropriate behaviour is generally considered the best indication of belief, there can be little doubt of the strength of belief involved in this case.

The variations in the two accounts are instructive in pointing out the extent to which a story can undergo changes when it has passed through a few retellings. In the latter example even the name of the *tietäjä* has been changed to one more familiar to the teller.

The Fate of the Tradition

The formation, preservation, change, and dissolution of tradition have been touched upon in several different contexts in the preceding pages. These points may be briefly summarized in relation to traditional practices and beliefs in both Finland and Canada.

Tradition in Finland was supported by the informal socialization processes that, for the most part, were centred around the home, as is common in traditional peasant societies. Parents, relatives, neighbours, and friends functioned as the agents of social control, the guardians of community norms, and were responsible for inculcating basic values, beliefs, and attitudes. The magic world view was instilled by conscious teaching and by example.

Evening get-togethers at farmhouses were almost institutionalized sessions in which a great deal of information concerning *tietäjä*s in particular and magic in general was passed on.

3.7. At my home, neighbours came over in the evenings, sometimes five or six men at a time. They told ghost stories so that the children got frightened. I was so frightened I didn't dare to go out after dark at all. Ghost stories were the most popular. Omens were also discussed.

3.8. During the evenings the old master and the others told of their experiences and various happenings. One story led to another. Ghost stories were especially common. *Poppamiehet* [wizards] got them [ghosts] to disappear. They were raised somewhere by evil-minded people.

3.11. People used to gather in the evenings and tell ghost stories which scared children. The neighbours came in and there was always something to talk about.

The informal get-together was by no means the only occasion in which tradition was transmitted, but it was no doubt the most important for interpreting individual stories, experiences and beliefs, and blending them with those previously accepted as true. In other words, these common story-telling sessions were instrumental in the formation of community tradition. In addition, lore was passed on from parent to child, from friend to friend, and from neighbour to neighbour whenever a pertinent situation arose.

At the present time we know far too little about the kinds of contexts or situations that trigger traditional responses. The comments below mention occasions that prompted testimony about *tietäjä*s. Most of the stories referred to were probably in the form of memorates and legends.

3.12. People spoke about the *tietäjä*s primarily in cases of illness. They were talked about as having helped in such-and-such an illness, giving good advice, making medicine, and such things. He was like a doctor who had made good medicines for people and likewise for animals.

3.13. Stories were told mainly when something happened. When people visited each other in the evenings in the farmhouses, it didn't have to be for any special reason. Everyone was usually present, including growing children. There was an old woman here who used to tell all kinds of stories that I hadn't heard in Finland.

3.14. People often talked about who had gotten help for what from some *tietäjä*. They'd say that a certain *tietäjä* had been able to help with a certain ailment.

3.15. My mother suggested going to Kuuvalon Jussi, as she was old-fashioned and there were no doctors readily available. *Tietäjä*s were trusted implicitly. People spoke of them often, but especially in cases of sickness.

In Canada, as well as in Finland, story-telling prospered, although both the context and the content of the stories changed.

3.16. In this country stories are told at get-togethers in the evenings, at work during lunch hours and breaks.

3.17. Men used to talk a lot where I worked. They discussed these trials of strength. We also discussed these wizards; like what kind of trick this or that one had performed. So this man told that he at least had had good experience with them. Such things are not often discussed, but when they are one tells of one thing first, then another adds something else. Especially, real old events are discussed, like this which happened when T.N. was in the army.

Changing times also brought opposition to such sessions as they were considered frivolous.

3.18. Earlier, when there were a few people who started to tell legends and the like, I always put a stop to it; it didn't amuse me at all.

This kind of no-nonsense attitude is far more common among Finnish immigrants than their unquestioning belief in the supernatural and their faith in the miraculous might lead one to think. The realities of everyday

life were far too pressing to allow much musing over metaphysical origins or supernatural causes, especially when fellow workers or friends might respond with immediate ridicule as a sure form of social control. The fear of being laughed at soon changed the attitudes of the truest believer, or at least forced him to keep his opinions to himself.

The traditional beliefs and practices preserved and exercised in Canada have survived despite the lack of general community support that they had in Finland. Obviously they answer a need that is stronger than the doubts raised by non-believers. A Finnish tradition of magic still exists and is practised in Canada, but mainly as a covert activity. Tradition lives on in nuclear families, among relatives and small groups of friends. The closest neighbours may often be totally unaware that the quiet old woman next door is the master of a healing role that has unfolded in a dramatic pattern for thousands of years. The role may have been exercised by the arctic shaman seeking to banish an illness resulting from carelessness in situations charged with psychic tension, or from an onslaught of supernatural forces or spirits, perhaps raised by a hostile person.

Habits of mind are not easily changed. Old immigrants steeped in the traditions of their ancestors will, for a time yet, practise their magic in the isolation of their farms, much as they did in Finland. The cultural milieu that created these traditions is gone and will not be renewed. The transferral of magic and healing traditions occurred mainly with people who were thoroughly familiar with them before their arrival and who found comparable situations to activate them in the new country. The second generation has acquired remnants of their parents' practices, but very little of the world view that supported them. When the old generation passes away, the knowledge will also disappear. Many of the informants lamented this, but were resigned to the fact that nothing could be done about it. They will take the knowledge with them to the grave because, as they say, there are none among their children who will receive it or possess the wisdom to practise it.

Appendix I: Additional Variants of Folk Remedies Used in Canada[1]

8.B.62. [He made some] cough medicine from rattlesnake fat and went around peddling it.

10.A.5. At———they used to collect this *siankärsäheinä [Achillea millefolium]*, yarrow, for a rheumatism medicine.

16.A.46. Medicine was made from the yarrow plant. Each person made it according to his own needs, gathered as much as required, boiled it and strained the water. Only the flower part is used. The plants are dried, put on the beams to dry. It is used for rheumatism.

20.B.62. I take balsam boughs and pour hot water on them. It helps to keep me regular. Lumberjacks use the pitch for cuts, so I figured it had curative properties, but one can't drink pitch so I experimented and invented my drink.

25.B.87. Wet blue clay is also good for rheumatism. Here you can find it only near———. It is heated and the limbs are smeared with it. It is allowed to stay until it crumbles.

19.B.63. Balsam pitch was used for cuts. It binds the edges of the cut together. In Finland spruce and pine pitch were used for the same purpose.

24.B.58. This person we knew who had a bad asthma used to treat it by putting tar on the stones in the sauna. The vapour was supposed to relieve the trouble.

14.B.77–79. Plantain is good for cuts, earth for hornet stings, tobacco in water applied on snake bite for cows.

14.B.80. Labrador tea is used as a drink for rheumatism. They're taken just as they bloom.

10.A.4. People also prepared a kind of liniment which is then used to rub. They're made from all kinds of grasses. There are special grasses that different people get help from; each has his own. Others might not get any aid from the one that helps you.

19.A.3. Plantain leaves are put over wounds. They keep the cut clean and heal it. I've used it myself so I know from experience that it helps.

19.A.1. Lumberjacks, especially, used balsam pitch for colds and cough. They take the pitch that runs over the bark with a knife and eat it for colds. The pitch is also used on cuts. If you had a cut on your finger, pitch was daubed on it. It cured it.

10.A.13. I cured my own eye with sugar. My eye started growing cataracts after I had some salt from the road splashed in it. Later, as I was making some holes with an iron bar, the eye got jolted and something fleshy came over it; it started growing, but they couldn't suggest anything for it except operation. But when we came home my wife suggested we put sugar in it, as her mother had always used sugar for such things. So I lay down on the bed and we filled the eye with sugar. It's rougher than water or grease and as you move your eye the sugar abrades the tissue. It melts, too, so that if you put it in in the evening it's all gone by morning. The tissue stopped growing and when it started growing a couple of years later we did the same thing and the eye has not bothered me since. The doctor had said that it could be operated on as long as it didn't reach the pupil: if it did then it would be too late to operate. But I didn't have to get an operation. I took a sugar cube and scraped it very fine so it wouldn't harm the eye. My mother treated my eyes when I was four or five when I got blisters in my eye. It helped me and I still remember it.

6.B.47. A working buddy of mine stopped bleeding by taking a handful of earth and putting it on the wound.

4.A.8. Many people have this Japanese bracelet, which they believe will cure. The neighbour woman has one, but she only borrowed it and is only keeping it for two weeks to see if it does anything. If it helps [rheumatism] she'll order it. It costs $10.

7.B.68. My sister asked me to cure a *narri* from her wrist [creaking in the joint]. I said I

1 The numbers beginning each paragraph refer to sound recordings in the archives of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.

didn't know how, but she insisted, saying I should do it just like Mother did it, now that Mother is no more. And I did it, struck on both sides of her hand with a hammer and replied to her question, "What are you doing?"—"I'm beating the *narri*." And others laughed around us and it was cured. It can't be healed any other way, no matter what medicines you take. It was cured completely in 20 minutes.

5.B.69. Rheumatism medicine was made from Labrador tea and new leaves. They were put in hot water and then you were supposed to sit in it as in a sitz bath. I don't know whether it helped.

19.A.31. Baths were used on our farm also. We had a large barrel in our steam bath in which we gathered all kinds of new green shoots in the spring and then soaked ourselves in there.

19.A.2. All kinds of leaves are gathered first thing in the spring. They are put in a large barrel and hot water is poured on them. The person is immersed in there and soaked. One can't stay there very long or else one can't get up oneself.

18.B.70. Mr. C. got help from the Labrador tea baths. They gathered them in hot water and he sat in it. He had a bad rheumatism and was cured of it. Many people have gotten aid from them.

14.B.82. L.D., our neighbour, was cured of rheumatism by being soaked in a bath of green leaves and by massage.

10.A.3. Baths were much used formerly. In the spring, when nature begins to awaken, we collected Labrador tea and all kinds of plants and flowers, put them in a container and poured hot water over them. There were pine shoots, plants, all kinds of grasses mixed up.

21.B.24. Yarrow is good for rheumatism. But all green plants in the spring are good. You make a bath, pour hot water on the plants and sit in the water. It draws and helps, especially in rheumatism. We did this for my husband. The grasses really draw. Labrador tea is also very good.

24.B.56. This man had a bad rheumatism. He used to gather Labrador tea and make a bath with them in hot water and sit in it. It was supposed to help.

10.A.9. We also made a bath in a large barrel which we kept in a sauna. We gathered Labrador tea and all sorts of plants in it and then sat there in hot water, as hot as one could bear. I don't believe we would have reached this age if we hadn't done it. The plants could be of any kind but they had to be gathered in the spring while they were still growing, not in the fall as they were dying. They had to be the more "lively" plants. We also put salt in the water.

10.B.41–42. I cured my husband of backache with a Labrador tea bath. I gathered the Labrador tea and there was a rule how much you put in and how much salt in the hot water. One also had to take a very stiff drink before going into the water. You had to immerse yourself completely and stay as long as you could stand it. I'd still do it for myself, but I'm too old to gather the Labrador tea. Another friend of ours was cured of a hip ailment with the bath. It helps, but it tires one out, as it draws so strongly. The water is completely brown and has drawing powers. Maybe other plants have it too, but we've used only Labrador tea.

Appendix II: Index of Numbered Quotations Used in the Text[1]

Item number	Sound archives number
2.1	18.A.33–34
2.2	16.A.49
2.3	21.B.35
2.4	21.B.37
2.5	21.B.38
2.6	11.A.23
2.7	11.A.21
2.8	11.B.51–52
2.9	11.A.24
2.10	11.A.32
2.11	24.B.66
2.12	8.B.55
2.13	16.A.47–48
2.14	4.B.42
2.15	5.B.69
2.16	25.A.18
2.17	19.A.35
2.18	18.A.32
2.19	18.A.11
2.20	16.A.28
2.21	16.A.9
2.22	16.B.55
2.23	23.B.2
2.24	18.A.6
2.25	18.A.17
2.26	16.A.19
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3.15	18.B.53
3.16	12.B.43
3.17	9.B.53
3.18	8.A.6

1 The numbers in the left-hand column refer to the quoted passages in the text; those on the right are the corresponding numbers assigned to the recordings by the sound archives of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.